

BEIJING REVIEW

- Some Questions Concerning Socialist Democracy
- 5th U.N. Conference on Trade and Development



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COVER: "Election by Beans": In the 1940s, peasants in the liberated areas who mostly did not know how to read and write cast their vote by putting beans in the bowls behind the candidates. This woodcut by the famous artist Yan Han is a vivid demonstration of our Party's democratic tradition.

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CHRONICLE

June 5

• Premier Hua Guofeng sent greetings to Surya Bahadur Thapa, congratulating him on his assumption of the post of Prime Minister of the Royal Nepalese Government.

• Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping met the delegation of the National Council of U.S.-China Trade led by Mr. W. Surrey. Vice-Premier Deng pointed out that China and the United States need to find more avenues for expanding their economic and trade relations; China's present trade deficit with the United States should be changed and the United States ought to support the export of more Chinese commodities to the U.S. market.

June 6

• While meeting Australian Foreign Minister Andrew Peacock, Vice-Premier Deng said that China and Australia are situated in the same part of the world and, to a large extent, they share identical views for handling affairs of the Asian-Pacific region and international issues. The Australian Foreign Minister concurred. He said that because of its geographic proximity, Australia was more interested than other countries in China's four modernizations. Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua also held talks with him during his stay in Beijing.

June 7

• The Luxembourg Branch of the Bank of China has opened. It is the first branch set up abroad by the Bank of China since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

• Premier Hua met His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent who visited China to preside over the opening ceremony of the British Energy Exhibition. With 350 British firms taking part, the exhibition will be held from June 6 to 16. Vice-Premiers Yu Qiuli and Wang Zhen visited the exhibition.

June 9

• He Long, an outstanding communist fighter, prominent proletarian statesman, military strategist, and one of the founders of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, died ten years ago today. He was a Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee, and Vice-Premier of the State Council. Ten years ago, he was persecuted to death by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." *Renmin Ribao* carried articles by Vice-Premier Yu Qiuli and other comrades commemorating the 10th anniversary of his death.

June 10

• The First World Cup Badminton Championship of the World Badminton Federation and the Second World Badminton Championships opened in east China's lake city of Hangzhou.



N.P.C. to Meet on June 18

The Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress, which met from June 7 to 12 in Beijing, decided to convene the Second Session of the Fifth N.P.C. on June 18. The N.P.C. is China's highest organ of state power.

A draft agenda for the session was adopted. Also approved at the meeting were a report on the work of the N.P.C. Standing Committee and drafts of the criminal law, criminal procedure law, and law governing joint Chinese and foreign stock enterprises and several other laws. These will be submitted to the Second Session of the Fifth N.P.C. for consideration.

At the meeting, Peng Zhen, Chairman of the Committee for the Legal System Under the N.P.C. Standing Committee, and Gu Ming, Vice-Minister in Charge of the State Planning Commission, gave explanations on these draft laws.

The meeting also heard an explanation by Vice-Premier Wang Zhen on re-establishing the post of Secretary-General of the State Council and restoring the Ministry of State Farms and Land Reclamation and the Ministry of Food. It also endorsed some appointments and removals.

Standing Committee of C.P.P.C.C.

The Standing Committee of the Fifth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (C.P.P.C.C.) held its Fourth Session in Beijing June 4-7.

The C.P.P.C.C. is a people's democratic united front organization. It unites China's various minority nationalities, democratic parties, people's organizations, overseas Chinese and other patriotic, democratic personages under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

The main task of the session was to make preparations for the forthcoming Second Session of the Fifth C.P.P.C.C. National Committee.

The session endorsed a list of 109 additional members of the Fifth National Committee. Among them are:

Lu Dingyi, formerly Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council;

Liu Lantao, Vice-Chairman of the Fourth National Committee of the C.P.P.C.C. Now he is concurrently First Deputy Head of the United Front Work Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Secretary-General of the Fifth C.P.P.C.C. National Committee;

Yang Shangkun, formerly Alternate Member of the Secretariat of the C.P.C. Central Committee and concurrently director of the General Office of the C.P.C. Central Committee. Today he serves as second secretary of the Guangdong provincial Party committee and vice-chairman of the Guangdong provincial revolutionary committee;

Yang Xianzhen, formerly Vice-President of the Party School of the C.P.C. Central Committee and now its adviser;

Ding Ling, well-known woman writer who was formerly vice-chairman of the Union of Chinese Writers;

Wang Guangmei, formerly secretary of the General Office of the C.P.C. Central Committee and widow of Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-chi);

Luo Zhanglong, 82, professor of the Hubei Institute of Finance and Economics;

Zhang Shenfu, well-known democrat and research fellow at the Beijing Library;

Zhang Quan, a noted soprano; and

Yang Gaojian, deputy secretary-general of the Association for Promoting Patriotism Among Catholics and Bishop of the Changde Diocese in Hunan Province.

Most of these additional members, among whom are many veteran Party members and democratic personages from various walks of life, were members of the Fourth C.P.P.C.C. National Committee. During the Great Cultural Revolution they were persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They have been rehabilitated after many major frame-ups and wrong sentences were corrected.

The Fifth C.P.P.C.C. National Committee originally had 1,988 members, of whom 79 have died of illness. With the addition of new members, the number is now 2,018. Election of the new members to the National Committee will be conducive to unity and stability throughout the nation, help develop the revolutionary united front and hasten the ac-

complishment of the four modernizations.

Two reports were heard at the session, one by Vice-Chairman of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee Rong Yiren on a C.P.P.C.C. delegation's recent visit to West Germany, Switzerland and France, and the other by Minister of Agriculture Huo Shilian on some problems concerning agriculture.

Combat Heroes in Beijing

A delegation of combat heroes in the self-defensive counterattack against Vietnamese aggression arrived in Beijing towards the end of last month.

In the first 10 days of June over 400,000 cadres, workers and students in the capital gathered on separate occasions to hear their vivid accounts of the Chinese frontier troops' exploits in the 16-day (February 17-March 4) campaign against the aggressors.

The 80-member delegation consisted of combat heroes and civilians who had performed meritorious service in supporting the front. Among them were representatives of the P.L.A.'s three services, tank crew, demolition squads, militia men and women, medical workers and public security personnel working in the frontier areas in Guangxi and Yunnan. Beijing was the first stop of the delegation's tour of the country.

Renmin Ribao published an editorial welcoming the delegation. It called on the people across the land to learn from the patriotism and revolutionary heroism displayed by these heroes and make their contribu-



Presenting flowers to the combat heroes.

tions to the nation's socialist modernization.

The self-defensive counterattack against the Vietnamese aggressors, the editorial pointed out, was a test for the Party, the army and the nation. After suffering heavy damage at the hands of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" for well over a decade, the country was steadily finding its feet, and a thousand and one problems were crying for solution. The Chinese Communist Party, having made herculean efforts to set things to rights, had just announced the shifting of focus of the nation's work on to the four modernizations. It was under these circumstances that the Vietnamese regional hegemonists, with the backing of the Soviet Union, started bullying China at the same time as they invaded Kampuchea and sabotaged peace in Southeast Asia, thinking that they could take advantage of China's difficulties for their own benefit. Driven beyond forbearance, the Chinese people were forced to launch a counterattack. Many friends at that time doubted whether the counterattack could achieve the desired re-

sults and whether it would affect the progress of the four modernizations. Now facts have eloquently proved that the Chinese Party and army not only dare to fight but also know how to fight. The Chinese frontier troops have successfully achieved what they set out to do by dealing the Vietnamese aggressors a telling blow. China always means what it says. If the hegemonists, big or small, should dare to launch a war of aggression against us, we will meet blow with blow.

The editorial praised many ranking P.L.A. commanders who, with the same revolutionary fervour as in the war years, once again displayed their superb skill in directing the war. The editorial lavished praise on the young soldiers who constituted the majority of the forces in fighting the Vietnamese aggressors. Though they had never fought in any war before, their morale was high and they never wavered even in the face of death to defend the motherland's frontier areas and socialist modernization. They were really a promising younger generation.

Report meetings have been held in the last few days by various government organizations, and the heart-stirring deeds of the heroes at the front are a great inspiration to all the listeners. The consensus of opinion is that our army does not lack worthy successors and that our younger generation is trustworthy. At discussion meetings held after hearing the reports, many expressed the determination to learn from the heroes and do their bit for the realization of the four modernizations.

Experiment on Specialization In Industry

In the first four months of this year, the sewing machine industry in Beijing registered a 100 per cent increase in output, 15 per cent reduction in cost and a fivefold increase in profit, compared with the same period of 1977. This is the result of reorganizing this industry in line with the principle of specialization and co-operation.

In April last year, the general sewing machine factory was set up in Beijing by incorporating eight small factories. In accordance with the technological processes, these factories were reorganized along specialized lines, readjustments were made in the production of spare parts, enterprise management was improved and technical innovations were introduced. The upshot was production capacity increased enormously without any addition in equipment, investment or labour force.

By taking the same measures, the television industry in Shanghai raised production capacity 20-30 per cent.

Owing to lack of experience, reorganizing industry according to the principle of specialization and co-operation is being tried out in major industrial centres such as Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and Liaoning and is confined only to the machine-building, electronic, textile and light industries. In some industrial departments, specialized companies have been set up.

China's industries have been placed under the management of the various localities and departments. The drawbacks are many: there is the overlapping of administrative organs, the offices are overstaffed, and factories are often run without consideration for the results. Very often there are several factories in one place turning out the same product, each having its own way of operation independent of the others. This has led to wastes in raw materials and manpower. Sometimes the same factory has workshops for casting, forging, processing, assembling and repairing. This tendency is not confined to the big complexes; the small factories have been developing in this direction as well. The consequences are: scattered technical force, low utilization of equipment and low productivity. All these are incompatible with the nation's efforts to accomplish the four modernizations.

Reorganization of industry according to the principle of specialization and co-operation, which is an inevitable trend in China today, is part of the reform now being carried out in the system of industrial management. As it involves all sectors of the industry, many new problems will arise. In order to achieve the maximum results and reduce unforeseeable

errors to a minimum, the State Economic Commission has called on all quarters concerned to carry out experiments actively but carefully and sum up from time to time the experience gained so as to ensure smooth and steady progress.

Beijing Fights Pollution

The question of pollution in Beijing has received the close attention of the municipal authorities, and vigorous measures are being taken to protect the environment.

A few years ago, the late Premier Zhou Enlai issued instructions that attention should be paid to controlling pollution in Beijing. A network to monitor pollution has since been set up and research on environmental protection has been undertaken.

Steps taken to protect water resources include eliminating pollution sources or principal pollutants of the Yongding and six other major rivers as well as three reservoirs—the Miyun, the Guanting and the Huairou. To date, 69 per cent of the pollution sources of the seven rivers have been brought under control, and the water of some rivers has been steadily purified. The conditions of the Guanting Reservoir have been improved, while the water of the other two reservoirs are kept clean.

Most of the city's 14,000 boilers, industrial furnaces and kilns have been fitted with devices to reduce soot and smoke; half of them now do not send out black smoke. Factories in the densely-populated areas, which were a source of heavy pollution, have either been moved out or have

installed devices and achieved success in the disposal of the "three wastes."

Progress in the work of environmental protection as a whole, however, has been slow. In some areas in the capital, pollution is getting rather serious, and in quite a few areas the pollutants keep increasing, to the great dissatisfaction of the inhabitants.

To tackle the question, the Beijing municipal authorities recently held a conference. It called on all the enterprises, factories and mines to work together and control pollution in the capital by the end of 1980. The following tasks for 1979-80 were put forward:

- Make continued efforts to control the disposal of toxic and organic matter in the rivers and reservoirs;
- Eliminate the discharge of smoke and soot into the atmosphere. There should be no black smoke from the chimneys in the city proper;
- Factories causing noise and air pollution should make further readjustments so as to eliminate it;
- Factories causing serious pollution must work out really

effective measures to control pollution before a deadline set by the state;

- Devices to eliminate pollution must be installed in expanding the factories or building new ones.

The conference also decided that the scale of city construction must be carefully controlled. From now on, the building of big or medium-sized factories as well as those that are harmful to the environment will not be permitted in the city proper or the suburbs. Scientific research relating to environmental protection will be developed, and the present city-wide monitoring system embracing the industrial, communications, public utility, health, water conservancy, agriculture, forestry, meteorology and geology departments will be further improved.

Vast Scope for Literary Creativity

Since the downfall of Jiang Qing in 1976, Chinese literature and art have revived and are regaining their former splendour. This is evidenced by the increasing number of poems, plays, novels, films, musical



An illustration in *Li Zicheng*, a novel about the peasant uprising in the years 1629-46 at the end of the Ming Dynasty.

pieces, paintings and works of folk literature brought out recently. There is the feeling among the people, however, that much remains to be done. The selection of subject matter, for instance, is rather limited. This accounts for the lack of variety, which is a major complaint from the public.

In an attempt to tackle this question, *Renmin Ribao* published an article by a commentator on June 4 saying that the rich-



Left: The heroine and director (1st and 3rd from left) in *Aolei Yilan*, a colour feature film about the resistance by a minority nationality in northeast China against tsarist aggression.



Right: *Young Is Beautiful*, a play depicting the work, love and ideals of three young couples.

ness and variety of contemporary life and China's long history offer a vast scope for literary and artistic creations. Writers, it pointed out, can draw on whatever material that is useful, be it historical or contemporary, Chinese or foreign.

The article listed the following as possible themes for writers:

- the great cause of building and defending the motherland and outstanding people who have distinguished themselves in this regard;

- exposure and criticism of unhealthy tendencies such as bureaucracy, laziness, inertia, privilege seeking, anarchism and so forth;

- the revolutionary struggles carried out by the Chinese people under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party to overthrow reactionary rule and found the People's Republic;

- the illustrious deeds of patriotic people who, in the mid-19th century and after, fought against domestic feudal oppression and imperialist aggression for national independence and the happiness of the masses;

- peasant uprisings and other significant historical events; outstanding statesmen, military strategists, scientists, inventors as well as well-known writers and artists in Chinese history;

- emperors, kings and government officials who made notable contributions to the development of Chinese history. In portraying these characters, the historical materialist approach should be used.

The article stressed that literary and artistic creativity should break down all restrictions. "As long as their political stand is correct, the writers can write whatever themes they like or are familiar with. There should be no restrictions whatsoever."

It expressed the hope that writers will produce really good works so that literature and art will better serve the people of our new era.

Ideological Education Of Youngsters

How should we educate the 210 million boys and girls in the middle and primary schools and bring them up as a new generation with lofty revolutionary ideals?

This was the major topic of discussion at a forum sponsored by the Ministry of Education last month. Headmasters and schoolteachers from various parts of the country were unanimous that middle and primary schools should follow Chairman Mao's educational policy of enabling everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically. This means the students should not only learn and master various branches of knowledge and be physically fit but should also receive ideological and political education so that they will become labourers with both socialist consciousness and culture.

Situation Today. In analysing the situation prevailing today, the participants agreed that great changes have taken place in the schools in the last two years and a half. More

and more students are now aware of the harm done by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who spread the idea that "it is useless to study." They realize that, as youths of the nation, they are expected to carry on the cause for which the older generation of revolutionaries have dedicated their lives and that they will be the backbone of the country in achieving socialist modernization. This prompts them to study diligently, observe discipline and, when the occasion needs, perform services for the people. With the schools now back to normal, most of the students are making progress and growing up healthily. This is the mainstream and should be affirmed.

But the "gang of four's" bad influence on the students cannot be eradicated overnight. The fact that some students in the higher classes lack revolutionary ideals and correct political views cannot be overlooked. A few of them have even committed crimes. Hence the necessity to step up ideological education among the students.

What Should Be Done. The forum proposed that the present ideological education in schools should aim at helping the students cultivate the habit of studying diligently, observing discipline, loving labour and being ready to help others and courageous in fighting the enemies.

Commenting on this forum, a *Renmin Ribao* article called on the mass organizations, the press, cultural and publication departments and the parents to co-ordinate their efforts to help the youngsters grow up the healthy way. The article emphasized the need to take into

consideration the characteristics of the students while doing ideological work:

- put the emphasis on education by positive examples and give them guidance through democratic discussions and heart-to-heart talks;

- organize lively and beneficial after-class activities;

- in giving lessons on politics, teach the students the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the policies and principles concerning socialist modernization, socialist democracy and socialist legal system;

- open a course on communist ethics to help the students understand the fine qualities a citizen of the People's Republic should have; and

- work out the regulations students of primary and middle schools should observe.

No Squandering of Public Funds Allowed

A deputy director of the foreign trade bureau of Jilin Province in northeast China was recently dismissed from office for having squandered state funds. In publishing the news of this case, the press stressed that such malpractices should be promptly and resolutely stamped out, for they constituted an obstacle to the realization of the four modernizations.

The squanderer was Wang Zhenyu who had committed

similar offences on previous occasions. He had in 20 days spent 26,000 yuan of state funds entertaining seven people who had gone to Jilin to make on-the-spot investigations of the commodities there available for export. Ignoring government regulations that people on duty away from home should pay for their own food, Wang gave them sumptuous feasts and 1 ton of famous wines, 60,000 choice cigarettes and 12 kilogrammes of top-quality tea, to mention only a few items, were consumed.

The news was received with mixed feelings. While welcoming it as an indication of the determination of the authorities concerned to put an end to the corrupt practices that thrived under the aegis of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," many readers wrote to the press saying that Wang's punishment was too light, that he should be made to foot the bill and that legal proceedings should be taken against him.

Some of the letters were published. Several readers in Beijing pointed out in their letter that the 26,000 yuan squandered was equivalent to one month's wages for 500 young workers, or a whole year's earnings for 100 able-bodied peasants. Offenders like Wang, they said, should also be punished economically.

A letter from several sales clerks of a department store in Changchun, capital of Jilin Province, said: "When we sell

toothpaste, we ask the customers to return the old, empty tubes. Like swallows building their nests bit by bit, we save what we can so as to accumulate funds for the state. But Wang Zhenyu is like a rat, nibbling away at the foundations of socialism!"

A reader in northwest China felt the same way. "Our country is still very poor," he wrote. "How can it stand the ravages of such rodents!"

This case has aroused the attention of the foreign trade bureau in Jilin Province. As a counter-measure against similar offences, it has passed a decision demanding that its cadres strictly observe financial regulations and be honest and upright, and "seven prohibitions" have been listed with due consideration for the characteristics of foreign trade work. These include forbidding its personnel to procure samples of goods to line their own pockets. The decision also calls for strict observance of relevant rules and regulations when receiving foreign businessmen.



Some Questions Concerning Socialist Democracy

by Wu Jialin

To give scope to socialist democracy is one of the questions of public concern in our country. Many articles discussing the question have appeared in the press. This article probes the essential differences between bourgeois and socialist democracy and their historical ties.

CENTRALISM on the basis of democracy and giving scope to democracy under the guidance of centralism—such is the dialectical relationship of unity between democracy and centralism.

Democracy and centralism are inseparable. Under socialism, centralism on a democratic basis alone conforms with the interests of the state and the people; and only democracy under the guidance of such centralism is socialist in nature. If and when there is centralism without democracy, then it is bureaucratic centralism; on the other hand, if and when there is democracy without centralism, then it will lead to ultra-democracy and anarchism, which does not conform with the interests of the people.

At Present, Stress Democracy

In the present period, why should we lay special emphasis on democracy? Firstly, for quite a long time in the past, democratic centralism was not really enforced, there was little democracy, and centralism was stressed in isolation of democracy. Democratic centralism, as a system, was wantonly undermined especially when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" trampled people's democracy under foot, brutally persecuted veteran cadres, intellectuals, workers and peasants. Some among the ranks of our cadres who were seriously affected ideologically

also exercised centralism in isolation of democracy in areas and units under their leadership, forbidding others to speak out and refusing to follow the mass line. This despotism of refusing to have anything to do with democracy, if not rectified in good time, is bound to harm modernization.

Secondly, the four modernizations, if they are to be realized at all, cannot do without a vigorous development of socialist democracy. The four modernizations will not succeed in the absence of democratization as a political condition. This is because only when democracy is brought to full play can all the positive factors be aroused and mammoth construction forces organized; only then can people emancipate their minds, implement the correct line, principles and policies and put correct methods into practice; only then can a large number of capable people be discovered; only then can there be correct centralism and unified, strong leadership to fit the needs of modernization.

At present, we should lay special emphasis on democracy while guarding against and overcoming the anarchist tendency of going after democracy with no regard for centralism. This is necessary for two reasons. Firstly, the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in fanning up anarchism must not be underestimated: some people are imbued with the idea of ultra-democracy and anarchism, they have no regard for the interests of the state and the collective, they have a contempt for socialist discipline and legality, they one-sidedly lay emphasis on personal interest and freedom, they infringe on public order in an unbridled way, even flouting law and discipline and violating criminal laws. This foul wind must be stopped in good time.



Chairman Mao casting a vote in an election of people's deputies (1953).

Secondly, modernization requires a political environment of stability and unity, stable and good social order, strict regulations and rules and labour discipline and centralized, unified command. Therefore, talking only about democracy without talking about centralism or talking only about freedom without talking about discipline is disadvantageous to modernization. Of course, the centralism we are talking about must be genuine centralism established on a democratic basis, not fake centralism giving no scope to democracy.

Form and Content of Democracy

Each and every thing has its content and form; democracy is no exception. The content

of democracy refers to its class nature and its concrete content; it provides the answers to questions like who is entitled to enjoy democratic rights and what kind of democratic rights they enjoy. The form of democracy pertains to the organizations, institutions, procedures and methods which correspond to the content of democracy. The bourgeoisie holding the power of the state is the main content of bourgeois democracy; a democratic republic and the parliamentary system are main forms of bourgeois democracy. The working people acting as masters of the country is the main content of socialist democracy in China; the people's republic and the people's congress system under democratic centralism are main forms of our socialist democracy.

In the relationship between the form of democracy and its content, the latter is decisive. But the form is not a mere trifle that can be retained or dispensed with at random. Historically, the parliamentary system in a bourgeois state once did play a powerful role in sweeping away the survivals of feudal autocracy, in developing bourgeois democracy, in consolidating bourgeois rule and developing the productive forces.

In the dialectical relationship between content and form, there is also the question of transforming and making use of the old form. A new content, while creating a new form, should also take over and make use of any part of the old form that can be made to serve the new content on the basis of transforming it. For instance, the general election was originally created by the bourgeoisie in its struggle against feudal autocracy and was later made a major form of bourgeois democracy. Instead of abandoning the form of the general election



Premier Zhou bringing up the plan for socialist modernization by the turn of the century in his report to the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress held in 1975.

after it has founded its own political power, the proletariat has taken over and made use of it on the basis of transforming it.

In the relationship between the content of democracy and the form of democracy, there are two tendencies that must be opposed, the tendency of formalism and the tendency of nihilism. The former regards the form of democracy as a thing above everything else, whereas the latter looks on the form of democracy as something that can be dispensed with. In China, both tendencies existed but it was the latter, namely, the nihilist tendency in respect to the form of democracy, that prevailed longer and brought greater damage.

This can be seen by reviewing the establishment and development of the system of people's congresses in our country. In the early years of the People's Republic, in the absence of the conditions for general elections, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was formed through consultation to exercise the functions and powers of the National People's Congress, with the local people's conferences exercising the functions and powers of the local people's congresses.

By 1953, the Electoral Law was promulgated; the national and local people's congresses were formed through general elections. At the

First Session of the First National People's Congress convened in 1954, the first Constitution and the organic laws of the central and local state organs were adopted. According to the Constitution, the term of office of deputies to the National People's Congress and to the local people's congresses at all levels is four years and they meet once every year. Until 1957, the development of the system of people's congresses in our country had been rapid and healthy.

After 1958, this system was not as highly respected as before; meetings became fewer and fewer and the role of the people's congresses at all levels gradually weakened. After 1966, the organs of the people's congresses from the central level down were dispersed by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The National People's Congress did not begin to resume its activities until early 1975 and it was beginning from 1978, more than a year after the downfall of the "gang of four," that the local people's congresses gradually resumed their activities.

The people acting as masters of the country is not just fine words devoid of meaning but something that should be ensured by a particular form. The reason why we want to institute the people's congress system in our country is because it is the best form available for help-



Deputies to the First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress (1976).

ing the people exercise their rights as masters of the country.

The people, through general elections, choose their own deputies to exercise the power of the state. The people's congresses at various levels elect the people's governments at their respective levels to exercise the power of the government. The people's governments at all levels are responsible and accountable to the people's congresses at the corresponding levels and are subject to their supervision. The deputies to the people's congresses at all levels are subject to the supervision of the electorates or the units which elect them. Such is democratic centralism. It ensures that the people enjoy their rights as masters of their country. If the people have no right to elect their own deputies and if the people's congresses do not have the right to supervise the work of the government, what role as "masters of the country" is there to speak of?

The nihilist attitude towards the form of democracy is connected with people's misinterpretation of the relationship between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy.

Bourgeois Democracy and Socialist Democracy

For many years in our society, there has been a "Leftist" trend of thought acknowledg-

ing dictatorship without acknowledging democracy. Some people wrongly equate democracy with bourgeois democracy. As they see it, democracy is the kind of thing connected with the bourgeoisie, not the proletariat. Thus, democracy becomes the "patent" of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is not supposed to talk about democracy. If one does, one will be suspected of engaging in bourgeois democratization. This wrong trend of thought was exploited by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who, flaunting the banner of criticizing bourgeois democracy, repudiated socialist democracy as bourgeois democracy, undermined the legal system and exercised feudal autocracy.

Bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy are two different but inter-related things. But, for many years, people have talked more about their differences, less about their inter-relationship.

The main manifestations of the essential difference between bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy are:

One, bourgeois democracy is based on the system of private ownership and serves the capitalist economic base, whereas socialist democracy is established on the basis of public ownership and serves the socialist economic base.

Two, bourgeois democracy is democracy for the exploiters, to be enjoyed by a few, whereas

socialist democracy is democracy for the labourers, to be enjoyed by the many.

In spite of this big difference between the two, they are also inter-related, mainly in the following ways:

One, both are opposed to feudal autocracy and personal dictatorship, both are the anti-thesis of autocracy, and both seek liberty, equality and human rights (although the proletariat and the bourgeoisie understand liberty, equality and human rights differently).

Two, socialist democracy develops from bourgeois democracy; the two have historical ties.

Three, subject to transformation, certain specific forms of bourgeois democracy can be taken over and made use of by the socialist system of democracy.

Some people have absolutized the difference between bourgeois democracy and socialist democracy, taking the attitude of disclaiming and negating bourgeois democracy altogether and thinking that socialist democracy must sever its ties with bourgeois democracy because there should not be any ties or any common ground between them. This viewpoint is theoretically wrong and harmful in practice.

Taking Over Critically

To begin with, historically, the bourgeois democratic system is more progressive than feudal autocracy. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We should not write off bourgeois democracy with one stroke of the pen and deny bourgeois constitutions a place in history." (*On the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China*, 1954.)

Next, socialist democracy negates bourgeois democracy by throwing away its narrow, limited and deceptive aspects; its progressive aspect must be critically inherited. The progressive elements in bourgeois democracy, after being critically taken over and transformed by the proletariat, become socialist in nature.

Further, democracy as a form of state has a class nature — this is so as a whole. The nature of a thing as a whole and the nature of its

separate parts are not entirely the same. This requires us to make a specific analysis of a specific problem. The bourgeois states have accumulated some useful experience in running "all kinds of public affairs," and created some effective forms. Why can't we take them over selectively and make them serve socialism?

Take the form of democracy for instance. The universal, equal and direct electoral system by ballot is a thing to be made use of. A larger number of candidates than the deputies to be elected gives the voters a greater choice — isn't this more democratic than the method under which the number of candidates is equal to that of the deputies to be elected? The members of parliament in some bourgeois states have a way of contacting the people in their constituencies. Isn't there something in this for us to think about?

Therefore, on the question of democracy, we must also sweep clean the pernicious influence of sealing ourselves off from the outside world and engaging in self-aggrandizement, emancipate our minds, and broaden our visions. We should, like Lenin had taught us, "develop democracy to the utmost, seek out the forms for this development, test them by practice" (*The State and Revolution*) so as to further improve our socialist democratic system and ensure that this country under the dictatorship of the proletariat will not change colour politically.

Socialist democracy is superior to bourgeois democracy. This is determined by the nature of the socialist system. Our socialist system determines that our socialist democracy should and can be superior to bourgeois democracy. But, "should be" does not mean "actually is" and "can" does not denote "in reality." It is, to say the least, a naive illusion to think that the system of socialist democracy arises and becomes complete of its own accord without a long period of practice and hard struggle.

For a long time, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" damaged socialist democracy; now if we want to make socialist democracy a genuine democracy we must strengthen our democratic system and improve our democratic life, and thus institutionalize socialist democracy and normalize the people's democratic life. Only in this way can we give full scope to the superiority of socialist democracy.

What Sort of Socialism Should We Uphold?

by Li Honglin

China must uphold the socialist road in modernization. Some years ago, the "gang of four" also came out for "sticking to the socialist road and guarding against a capitalist restoration." What kind of socialism should we uphold? The following article deals with this question mainly from the aspect of the public ownership of the means of production and the principle of "to each according to his work."

AS we want to build China into a modern, powerful socialist country, we must certainly uphold socialism. But we must first of all make clear what kind of socialism we should uphold, for there have been socialisms of many kinds in the world.

In the last century when Marx and Engels were drafting their *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, there were several kinds of socialisms in Europe. But there is only one kind of socialism which is scientific, and that is Marxism. After the emergence of Marxism, the variety of socialisms has not diminished. Proudhonism, Bakuninism, Lassalleanism, Bernsteinism, Kautskyism, Trotskyism, Bukharinism and others all styled themselves as socialism of one kind or another. Even fascism called itself "state socialism." There are indeed a great variety of socialisms in the world. However, all these "socialisms" are nothing but prescriptions of certain classes for transforming the world in their own images.

One Breed of Pseudo Socialism

Of all the many pseudo socialisms, the most familiar to us is the "socialism" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

What are the features of that type of "socialism"?

1. The level of its productive forces is very low. Their "socialism" calls for people always to use backward tools and do hard manual labour, for these are symbols of "revolution." Production is not allowed to develop because that would be playing up the theory of the "unique importance of the productive forces." And no modernization is allowed for it would mean "capitalist modernization."

2. The relations of production do not have to conform to the level of the development of the productive forces. So the greater the extent of public ownership, the better. The plot for the peasant's private use and household sideline occupations, which are a necessary supplement to the socialist collective economy, all become "vestiges of capitalism," and rural fairs are pure manifestations of the "capitalist road."

3. Equalitarianism in distribution is advocated; differences are not recognized, neither is the principle of "to each according to his work." Otherwise, it is "expanding bourgeois right" and "restoring capitalism."

4. Life has to be hard and material welfare ignored. Otherwise, it is "handing out economic sops and practising bribery and corruption." This is "welfarism," which is "revisionist."

5. Politically, there has to be desperate struggle. The more chaotic the situation, the better. A so-called "bourgeoisie within the Party" has to be deprived of all power. Otherwise, it is the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and this, of course, is "revisionism."

6. An "all-round dictatorship" has to be exercised over culture, education, science and art. The principle of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and letting a hundred schools of thought contend" is "bourgeois liberalism" and this is 100 per cent "revisionism."

In a word, that "socialism" of theirs is more "revolutionary" than all other kinds of socialisms. Actually it is ultra-Left. It was in vogue for a decade in China and the result was great disorder in a good country like the People's Republic of China and the national economy was brought to the brink of collapse. The Chinese people know full well how "superior" this kind of "socialism" was!

Then why are there some people still so muddle-headed? Why do some young people have doubts about socialism? It has its roots in the years of chaos wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." "Doubt" itself is not necessarily a bad thing. It depends on what one doubts. Of course it is wrong to doubt science. But to doubt blind faith is progress. There is nothing

wrong with people doubting the "socialism" distorted beyond all recognition by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

China has been building socialism for 30 years and we have accumulated both positive and negative experiences. It is understandable that one must pay for one's "tuition" in order to acquire experience. In the past, we never entertained any doubts about the superiority of socialism despite our making mistakes of this or that kind. In actual fact, we did very well in building socialism after the founding of New China. Even when there were serious difficulties, our people knew that was not the fault of socialism itself, but the result of mistakes made in the course of work. Once the mistakes are corrected, the speed of socialist construction will far surpass that of capitalist development. Only socialism can save China. This concept is firm and unshakable

Then, everything went haywire when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" held sway. Almost everything we had accomplished was described as "revisionist" or "a restoration of capitalism." Only their ultra-Left political line, which plunged the whole nation to universal poverty, was accepted as genuine "socialism."

It is this pernicious influence that is ossifying the minds of some people and making them continue to look at things from an ultra-Left point of view. They consider our Party's correct policies and measures for setting things right as "Right deviationist." It is this same influence

which makes some people long for Western civilization and think that socialism is no better than capitalism.

Scientific Socialism

What then is scientific socialism?

The theory of scientific socialism has only a history of 130 years. Socialist society has come into being in the world for only a few score years. Both socialist theory and the practice of socialist revolution and construction are young newborn things, having great vitality and a tremendous future. Since they are young, they cannot be very perfect. It is our task to continuously develop and perfect this theory and practice, make them grow stronger in the course of struggle against capitalism and triumph over capitalism throughout the world.

Every country or nation has its own particular social and historical conditions. Any theory or policy which integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of a country and which helps achieve actual results under the general goal of communism has a right to exist.

Of course, there are not without any principles. The socialist principles are not mystic or pedantic. They are not dogmas innate in the mind of some saviour either, but principles worked out from real life, scientific conclusions borne out by practice. These are the principles we must adhere to



Socialist ownership by the whole people: The Wuhan Heavy Machine-Tools Plant, a state enterprise.



Socialist collective ownership by the working people: A rural commune porcelain factory.

One, we must adhere to public ownership of the means of production which promotes the development of the productive forces. Socialism is the inevitable outcome of the development of various contradictions in the capitalist society and not some abstract set of principles created by the intellect. The basic contradiction in capitalist society is the contradiction between socialized production and capitalist private ownership. If ownership of the means of production is socialized, then it is compatible with socialized production. Therefore, the way to resolve this contradiction is to replace capitalist private ownership by socialist public ownership. The original meaning of socialism is that the means of production is owned by society, namely, public ownership. Departing from this fundamental point would mean that there is no socialism to speak of. In adhering to the socialist road, we must first of all uphold the public ownership of the means of production.

Upholding public ownership is not an abstract concept, as if any public ownership is necessarily good. That is not so. For example, public ownership in primitive society became obsolete in the end and had to give way to the system of private ownership. We adhere to socialist public ownership because it can bring about a speedier development of the productive forces. As there are different levels of development of the productive forces, so there are different forms of socialist public ownership. At the present stage, there are two kinds of public ownership of the means of production in China: ownership by the whole people (as the state-owned factories) and

collective ownership (as the rural people's communes). Collectivization in the latter varies in degree and scope. For example, the rural people's commune at present takes the form of three-level ownership, that is, ownership by the commune, the production brigade and the production team, with the production team as the basic accounting unit. In addition, the commune members are also permitted to cultivate small plots for personal needs and engage in limited household sideline occupations which complement the collective economy. Such a system of ownership reflects the socialist production relations which are compatible with the current level of development of the productive forces in the countryside.

At the present stage, it can promote the development of the productive forces to the fullest possible extent. This is the socialist public ownership which we must uphold in the countryside.

Therefore, we cannot say in abstract terms that the higher the degree of public ownership the more it shows that we are adhering to socialism. There is only one criterion, and that is, whether public ownership accelerates or not accelerates the development of the productive forces. If it does accelerate this development, it is adhering to socialism even though the degree of public ownership may be lower. If it does not, then it cannot be said that it is adhering to socialism, no matter how high the degree of public ownership. The "gang of four's" "wiping out the vestiges of capitalism" (that is, banning the use of small plots for personal needs, legitimate household sideline occupations and rural fairs) and "transit regardless of poverty" (that is, forcing a production brigade, instead of the production team, to become the basic accounting unit regardless of conditions) were, in appearance, "adhering to" socialism, but in actual fact, it was undermining socialism from the "Left."

Two, we must adhere to the socialist principle of "to each according to his work." Socialism can never be built on the basis of exploitation of man by man. Apart from juveniles who have not reached working age and those who are incapacitated for work, everybody must work and draw his means of livelihood according to the amount of work he has done. "More pay for more work, less pay for less work, and he

who does not work, neither shall he eat" — this is the only reasonable principle of distribution, a principle most conducive to promoting the development of the productive forces, before social products are in great abundance. It reflects the objective law of the socialist economy. Any violation brings on retribution. Ever since 1958 when Zhang Chunqiao (later he became a member of "gang of four") put forward the ultra-Left slogan of "eradicating bourgeois right," this socialist principle of distribution according to work has been distorted and undermined. And in real life due punishment has been meted out to the violators of this objective law.

Today, we are in a position to do things in accordance with this law, but things are not going quite smoothly because of resistance in various forms. For instance, last year when we reintroduced bonuses on a very small scale (accounting for a very tiny fraction of the value of products created by the workers over and above their production quota) and only on a trial basis, there were some shortcomings owing to our lack of experience. Things would go well once they were corrected, but some people felt very unhappy about it. Of course, we must advocate the communist spirit of working selflessly. This is not contradictory to the principle of distribution according to work and guiding economic work in accordance with objective economic laws. If we want to adhere to socialism, we must act persistently in accordance with objective economic laws and must resolutely criticize subjectivism and equalitarianism advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

Apart from the two points mentioned above, the general topic of adhering to socialism also encompasses the political and ideological principles which can be dealt with in other articles. In the economic field, besides these two points, there are other questions. For instance, the question of management involves matters relevant to the social system as well as technical problems arising in the course of production itself. In upholding socialism, we must adhere to the socialist principles of management.



Moral encouragement plus material reward — a people's commune in Guangxi is awarded a lorry and other materials for high outputs.

However, what are the socialist principles of management? And how can they (including the system of organization) contribute fully to the development of the productive forces? All this requires us to sum up our experience in the course of practice. Any management systems and methods (such as centralized or decentralized management, the enterprises have or do not have the right to decide for themselves) — all must be tested in practice. If they impede the development of the productive forces, they must be reformed no matter in which book they appeared and no matter who had approved of them. One must not proceed from an abstract principle to describe this as "socialist" and describe what is somewhat different from this as "revisionist" or "capitalist."

At present, our stressing the need to adhere to the socialist road has twofold significance. On the one hand, we must guard against danger from the Right, on the other, we must particularly fight against the danger of undermining socialism from the "Left." Because the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" has not been eliminated, some people's "internal injuries" (looking at things in an ultra-Left light) have not been healed. Therefore we must make a clear distinction between scientific socialism and the phony socialism of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." What we adhere to is scientific socialism. Away with the phony socialism which puts on an ultra-Left appearance to mislead people and which makes everyone live in dire poverty!

Destroying the Old and Establishing The New

AT the one-month Fifth United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) which closed on June 3 in Manila, capital of the Philippines, the third world countries proved once again to be the most positive factor in the struggle to change the existing irrational international economic relations and to build a new international economic order.

Resolutions

Through the concerted efforts of the developing countries which were the bulk of the 159 members, the conference proceeded apace. They continually readjusted their own stand to reach common ground and worked out measures. A series of resolutions were adopted which reflected to varying extents their aspirations and demands. A special resolution aimed at reinforcing economic co-operation among developing countries noted that co-operation is "a key element in the strategy of collective self-reliance," and "a basic component of the efforts towards the establishment of the new international economic order." The resolution also urged the developed countries and the international organizations to "provide appropriate support and assistance to the process and activities of economic co-operation among developing countries." The conference also approved a resolution on the special needs and problems of the least developed, inland and island countries, calling for various forms of financial and technological aid to these countries.

Specific agreements on the integrated programme of commodities and the establishment of a common fund were also reached. More than 20 countries promised to contribute to the common fund's second window — on primary product research. The realization of the programme and the setting up of the fund will help the developing countries maintain reasonable prices for primary products and upgrade their quality. The resolution on the convention

relative to the code of conduct for liner conferences will expedite its enforcement and facilitate the development of the shipping services of developing countries. In addition, it was also decided to set up an intergovernment group of experts to study reforming the international monetary system and to forward proposals.

But owing to the obstruction and sabotage of some economic powers, the superpowers in particular, no consensus was reached on some key questions in the international economic field, such as structural changes, division of power, guiding principles and funds collection. Many problems remained unsolved.

Against Shifting Economic Burdens to Others

To mitigate their own difficulties, some developed countries, the superpowers in particular, have tried hard to shift their burden of economic crises on to others. This has forced many developing countries to curtail their development programme or increase credits from private individuals, thus leading to greater foreign debts. The unpaid debts of developing countries rose from 114,000 million U.S. dollars in 1974 to 300,000 million in 1978. The poorest countries are hard put even to pay interests.

Many representatives were of the opinion that the most urgent question awaiting solution in international economic relations was how to curb the new trade protectionism of the developed countries, such as limiting and discriminating against goods or semi-finished goods from developing countries. This has adversely affected the developing countries' foreign trade and has gravely damaged their young industries. According to the UNCTAD secretariat, protectionism has brought the export volume of developing countries' finished goods in 1977 down by 40,000 million U.S. dollars.

To change the unjust international economic system in which the rich becomes richer

and the poor poorer has been the goal of the third world countries at all UNCTADs. At this recent conference the third world countries made the following proposals:

- Industrially developed countries should reduce the present protectionism in trade and open their markets to goods or semi-finished goods from developing countries.

- Accelerate the implementation of the integrated programme of commodities and establish a common fund to stabilize world prices of raw materials.

- Reduce or waive debts of the poor countries, and the United States, West Germany and Japan should in three years double the amount of their official aid to third world countries.

- Increase the share of the developing countries in commercial shipping.

These reasonable demands, however, were resisted or ignored to varying extents.

The United States, the West European Economic Community and Japan, not unexpectedly, dragged their heels. The economy in the Western world as a whole is in the grip of inflation, soaring oil prices and fluctuating currencies, sluggish economic growth, worsening unemployment and sharpening contention for markets. The developing countries have always been made the victims whenever the Western countries shift the burden of their economic crises and trade losses. So it is of course incompatible with their wishes that the third world countries put up struggles, and demand better trading conditions and stabilization of their earnings abroad.

What is more, trying to solve their energy problems, the industrially developed countries such as the United States, West European countries and Japan, schemed at the conference to exploit the conflicts of interests between the oil producers and non-oil producers among third world countries to exert pressure upon oil exporting countries. They wanted the conference to discuss the questions of increased oil prices and the world supply of oil. This was excluded from the agenda owing to the united opposition of the third world countries.

At the recent UNCTAD, Moscow's representative put on an ugly show. He tried to hold up the conference and the establishment of a new international economic order. As

soon as the conference started he distributed a so-called "document of positions" opposing the Arusha Plan of the "Group of 77" which he unscrupulously attacked in his speech at the conference. Both at the plenary session and in group negotiations, he crudely hawked "détente," "armament reduction" and a "European security council" and bragged about Soviet "aid" to other countries, which everyone knows is aimed at controlling and plundering them.

The Soviet Union which never for a moment stops proclaiming to be the "natural ally" of the third world countries, flatly refused at the conference to make any commitment to the third world countries, including the U.N. decision to earmark 0.7 per cent of each country's gross national product as preferential aid. He pleaded that the principles and regulations of capitalist countries were not applicable to a "socialist country." In actual fact, the Soviet Union wrings huge profits out of its trade with third world countries by buying cheap and selling dear, and is not a wit less rapacious than any imperialist country. The third world countries rejected the Soviet demand to put south-north and east-west trade into resolutions. This was a resounding slap in the face to the self-styled "natural ally."

Struggle Continues

The developing countries are becoming increasingly aware that the struggle in international economic relations will go on for quite some time and that they have to rely mainly on their own efforts and the principle of collective self-reliance. At the last stage of the conference President Marcos of the Philippines, meeting with representatives of the "Group of 77," pointed out that the unshakable principle of the "Group of 77" was not to seek alms but to rely on their own strength. Afterwards, regional leaders of the group decided to set up a 15-member committee to boost economic co-operation among developing countries.

Many representatives also stressed the need for effective measures to ensure that UNCTAD plays a fuller role in establishing a new international economic order. UNCTAD Secretary-General Gamani Corea told newsmen after the conference that the conference will exert a positive influence on the negotiations between the developing and the developed countries in 1980s.

Why Moscow Wants "Long-Term Co-operation" With Developing Countries

INSIDE and outside the Fifth UNCTAD (U.N. Conference on Trade and Development) in Manila, the Soviet representative who sanctimoniously condemned Western countries for exploiting the third world countries made much of Moscow's trade and economic "co-operation" with the developing countries and peddled its plan for "long-term co-operation" with them in trade, production and science and technology. Why does Moscow want "co-operation" and even "long-term co-operation" with third world countries?

Obsolete Machines for Raw Materials

Soviet foreign trade has been developing apace since 1970. Its total volume of trade increased from 22,100 million roubles in 1970 to 63,300 million in 1977 and 70,200 million in 1978, with favourable balances of 900 million, 3,100 million and 1,200 million roubles respectively for the three years. How did this come about? Statistics show that the favourable balances came mainly from trade with third world countries.

According to data published in the Soviet *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, *Vneshnyaya Torgovlya* and other journals, Soviet trade with the developing countries has the following three characteristics: First, it has developed rapidly. The trade volume rose from 3,000 million roubles in 1970 to 8,300 million in 1977 and 8,500 million in 1978. Second, the Soviet trade surplus has gone up each year: 600 million roubles in 1970; 2,300 million in 1977 and 2,900 million in 1978. Third, Moscow exchanged obsolete machines and equipment for strategic raw materials, foodstuffs and daily necessities.

In recent years, the Soviet Union has imported many sophisticated machines and equipment from Western countries and at the same time sold obsolete machines and equipment at high prices to the third world countries and thereby obtained huge profits. Data released in the Soviet *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, No. 15, 1979, show that Soviet exports of machines and

communications equipment in 1978 rose 11.9 per cent over 1977, their value amounting to 7,000 million roubles, or 19.6 per cent of the total value of Soviet commodity exports.

The Soviet Union is obtaining growing quantities of important raw materials for its industries from the developing countries. Oil, natural gas and natural rubber imported in 1975 from the third world countries reached 100 per cent of the total imports; tin, 71 per cent; bauxite, 86 per cent and jute, 92 per cent. The journal revealed in the same issue that in 1978 the Soviet Union got from the developing countries 26,000 tons of coffee, 103,000 tons of cocoa beans, almost 46,000 tons of tea, 183,000 tons of meat and meat products, some 40,000 tons of butter, 680 million eggs, 4 million tons of raw sugar, 847,000 tons of fresh fruits, 182,000 tons of vegetables, 122 million pairs of shoes and other daily necessities worth several hundred million roubles.

Raw Materials for Sophisticated Machines

Data published in Soviet journals also show that Soviet trade with developed capitalist countries has three characteristics: First, it has also made rapid headway. It soared from only 4,700 million roubles in 1970 to 18,700 million in 1977 and 19,700 million in 1978, or 28 per cent of its total foreign trade. Second, in sharp contrast to its large trade surplus with the third world countries, Soviet trade deficits with the industrially developed capitalist countries are rocketing. From 300 million roubles in 1970, they rose to 1,100 million in 1977 and 2,300 million in 1978. Third, not exchanging machines and equipment for raw materials as it has done in trade with third world countries. Moscow mainly exported raw materials and fuel to the West in exchange for sophisticated machines and equipment. Of the Soviet commodity exports in 1978, which mainly went to Western countries and member states of the C.M.E.A., about half were fuel, energy and raw materials. The value of imported machines and equipment that same year was 14,500 million

Indian Press Exposes Soviet Exploitation of India

THE March 9 issue of the Indian weekly *Organizer* published an article exposing the Soviet exploitation and control of India.

The article by Markanday Katju, President of the All-India Democratic Lawyers Association, says, "The refinery built by the Soviets at Barauni cost India a huge 78 million dollars. The capacity of this refinery was 2 million tons annually. The 2.5 million ton refinery built by Phillips Petroleum of the U.S.A. cost only 36 million dollars."

It goes on, "In other industries also, for example steel, drugs, etc., the Soviet Union appeared to be real friends, initially offering cheap 'aid.' However, once it had entered the Indian economy, Soviet prices were raised to the international level and even higher." "The Bokaro Steel Plant is a clear proof of the Soviets' real intentions. The first stage of 1.7 million ton capacity cost India Rs 486 crores. We may compare this with the cost of 1.5 million ton capacity plants in Dunkirk, France (Rs 144 crores) and in Fukuyama, Japan (Rs 148 crores). This shows that India has been charged thrice the international prices by the Russians."

"Regarding Indo-Soviet trade, it may be stated generally that it is of the traditional neocolonial type," the article says. It notes that Indian primary products which are sold at cheap prices to the Soviet Union, are resold at higher prices to Western Europe. Moreover, goods are generally sold by the Soviet Union to India at prices 15 to 20 per cent higher than Western prices.

An article carried in the *Indian Economic Times* of May 12 says that India has politely declined the offer of aid to the development of some of the critical sectors of its economy made by Soviet Prime Minister Kosygin during his recent visit to the country. According to informed sources, India's reluctance stemmed from the following main reasons: "It is felt in official circles here that Soviet aid is costlier than aid from other sources. While Western loans are repayable on an average over 32 years, with an interest rate of just over 2.5 per cent per annum and a grace period of ten years, Soviet aid seldom extends beyond a period of 15 years and invariably carries an annual interest rate of over 2.5 per cent." In addition, Soviet goods are over-priced by international standards.

Moreover, the article says, "It is felt here that most of the items offered by the Soviet Union are at least one generation removed from similar goods and technology available in Western countries."

roubles, 3,000 million higher than in 1977, or about half the total value of machines and equipment imported during the first five-year plan.

Extra-Economic Exploitation

In the course of exchanging machines for raw materials from the developing countries, the Soviet Union practises extra-economic exploitation through exchange of unequal values. For instance, the Soviet Union exported to Egypt certain goods at prices 13 per cent or even over 100 per cent higher than those at which it exported them to West Germany. The machines

and other commodities the Soviet Union exported to India were generally priced 20 to 30 per cent higher than in international markets. On the other hand, the many raw materials and other commodities the Soviet Union imported from the developing countries were usually priced lower than in the world markets. Iranian newspapers disclosed that the Soviet Union bought from Iran natural gas at only one-fourth of the price it got when it resold the gas to Europe. The price for the raw materials imported from India was 20 to 30 per cent lower than in the world markets. In 1976, the Soviet Union bought coffee from Angola at a price

only one-third of that in international markets. In addition to large amounts of raw materials, the Soviet Union has maintained a huge favourable balance of trade with the third world countries, which has enabled it to more than make up for the trade deficits with the West. Moreover, the Soviet Union has made exorbitant profits by importing raw materials from the third world countries and then reselling them to Western countries at higher prices. This explains the reason why Moscow tries so hard to preserve the existing international economic order and desperately peddles its "long-term plan for co-operation" with the developing countries.

The tactics used by the Soviet Union for extra-economic exploitation under the pretext

of "co-operation" has gradually been seen through by a number of countries. Some have boycotted the Soviet "plan." The Japanese *Asahi Shimbun* reported that the Malaysian Government last year rejected the Soviet offer of aid to Malaysia in building a hydropower station. Singapore has turned down a Soviet proposal for setting up a joint enterprise with the country's state-owned trading company—the International Trade Company—as a means for developing Soviet trade with ASEAN countries. According to the Indian *Economic Times* report of May 12, 1979, India has rejected the proposal offered not long ago by Kosygin for helping India to develop certain of its major economic departments.

Afghanistan in Turmoil

THE armed clashes between Moslem armed forces and government troops in Afghanistan have been growing. Soviet efforts to jump at the chance to step up control and interference in the country have aroused strong opposition among the people. While continuing unabated in the southeast, south and remote areas in the west, clashes have spread to several provinces adjacent to the Soviet Union and places close to Kabul, the capital. Tens of thousands of people took on government troops. AFP reported on May 13 that government troops had attacked with rockets three villages—some 15 kilometres northeast of Kabul—where Moslem armed forces were believed to have appeared. The rebels had taken control of a mountain pass 40 kilometres from the capital.

AP reported on May 18 that the anti-government armed clashes proliferated as Moscow intensified its military backing for Afghanistan. Although the Soviet Union was doing a lot to check this anti-government revolt, the fighting continued to grow in scale, the report added.

Since mid-March, Moslem organizations have attacked local government troops in the Kunar area of eastern Afghanistan. Govern-

ment troops and the police were ordered out for suppression.

There are reports that anti-government forces in at least 15 of the 29 provinces were fighting the army. Some 5,000 guerrillas have been mounting vigorous attacks against government troops near the provincial capital of Kunar in the northeastern part. In the northwest, Moslems of Herat Province at one stage occupied the city of Herat, a commercial centre, and cut the Herat-Kabul Highway. Fierce battles were fought between anti-government forces and government troops in Paktia, Nuristan, Uruzgan and Mazar-i-Sharif Provinces. Guerrilla activities were unfolding in Nangarhar, Paktia and Kunar Provinces. Widespread armed anti-government operations have led to desertions and mutinies in the army.

Suppression and Resistance

In January this year, *Kabul Times* quoted an Afghan security department spokesman, denying that there was fighting in Afghanistan against the government. "The whole country is very safe and very stable," the paper quoted. The Afghan Government in March, however, issued a statement admitting that "enemy activ-

ities have been stepped up" and warned that "an iron fist" will be used to deal "a devastating blow." It defined the "enemy" as elements hostile to the "April revolution."

This so-called "April revolution" referred to the coup d'etat which toppled the Daoud government. A new government was then formed with the leader of the People's Democratic Party Taraki as the President and Prime Minister. Since coming into office, however, the party has never put the country under effective control. This new government had to contend with various opposition forces inside the country. In the past year, it has purged a number of Daoud's high-ranking aides and cracked down on large numbers of people who are opposed to the present regime — government and military officers and religious and tribal forces. At the same time, differences occurred among the forces that had taken part in the April coup d'etat. The government, in succession, purged the army chief of the general staff who had commanded the April coup d'etat, the commander of the air force and other high-ranking officers. Foreign radio reports said that the Afghan Government carried out massive arrests against the opposition and was holding some 20,000 political prisoners in custody. Political persecution and police torture are on a scale unknown in Afghan history. It was against this background that the number of hostile elements has been increasing.

The Kremlin's Strategic Goal

Since coming into office, the present Afghan Government has declared time and again its in-

tention to pursue a foreign policy of independence and non-alignment. But in less than a year it signed no less than 40 agreements with the Soviet Union and large numbers of Soviet specialists and advisers have been rushed into Afghanistan. During his visit to Moscow last December, President Taraki signed a "treaty of friendship, good-neighbourliness and co-operation" with the Soviet Union and declared that he "stood with the Soviet Union" on many important international issues. The Afghan leader said that the "Asian security system" was a good idea, and that he would "take a common stand with Viet Nam." He also praised Castro's Cuba as "one of the most peace-loving countries in the world." The Western press is of the view that this foreign policy pursued by the present Afghan Government is another cause of the growing anti-government activities inside the country.

An Afghan Moslem leader once stated publicly that the Soviet Union has taken away Afghan natural gas, copper, uranium, wool and other resources at very low prices or actually plundered them. Soviet acts sowed the seeds of dissatisfaction leading eventually to the recent disturbances. Armed Moslem organizations have declared that they would "drive the Soviets out of Afghanistan."

Moscow has for a long time coveted Afghanistan as a strategic goal. It has all along tried to put this country under its control as a land route southward to the Indian Ocean. It has had a hand in every reshuffle of the Afghan regime in recent years. After what Moscow ac-

claims as the "April revolution," Soviet military advisers and specialists of all kinds poured into Afghanistan. Nobody knows exactly how many Soviet advisers there are in the country. One estimation puts it at 5,000 and more. Every crucial post in the organs of power is in their hands. In the 100,000-man Afghan army, most senior officers are sent from the Soviet Union. It is not for nothing that public opinion abroad say that the Soviet Union is trying to turn Afghanistan into its "sixteenth union republic."

The Soviet Union is very much upset by today's upheavals in Afghanistan. Claiming



"special responsibilities" for the country, Moscow lost not time in airlifting arms into Afghanistan and joining in the suppression of anti-government forces. According to reports, in late March the Soviet Union sent 25 giant transport planes to carry light tanks and armoured personnel carriers to Kabul. It flew 12 helicopters into Afghanistan to airlift government troops to the areas of conflict. Soviet military advisers were also rushed to Herat to command the government troops.

On April 5, a Soviet military delegation led by Vice-Minister of National Defence of the Soviet Union A. Epishev went to Afghanistan. It is reported that the aim of his visit "is not mainly to inspect the military advisers in Afghanistan, but to give Afghan high-ranking officers a shot in the arm." Reports said that some 100 Russians were killed by Moslems in the armed clashes.

Moscow's Smokescreen

Against this background Moscow has been shouting itself hoarse about "opposition to interference in Afghanistan" and has been concocting all sorts of rumours, alleging that China,

together with the United States, Britain, West Germany, Iran, Pakistan, Egypt and some other Arab nations, are carrying out a "joint action programme" against Afghanistan. These groundless accusations, as pointed out by the Western press, can be a prelude to Soviet intervention, an attempt to provide a pretext for another aggression which would put Moscow in the dock.

China has always abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and is firmly opposed to interference in the internal affairs of other countries. This is a fact known to all. The lies spread by the Soviet Union are not worth refuting. People know from experience that every time the Soviet Union is about to meddle in the affairs of another country, it lays down a heavy smokescreen. When one hears Moscow's outcry against "interference" in a certain area or country, one sees the Soviet Union already extending its power there. This was the case with Angola, Zaire, Ethiopia and South Yemen and North Yemen, and it is the case with Afghanistan today.

(Xin Changlin)

Commenting on Vo Nguyen Giap's Report

— At the Vietnamese National Assembly

VIENTIANE Vice-Premier and Defence Minister Vo Nguyen Giap delivered a lengthy anti-China report at the 5th session of the 6th National Assembly held at the end of May. An anti-China resolution was also passed at the session.

The Vietnamese National Assembly's published document had the following main points:

One. At the session of the National Assembly, the supreme organ of state, it designated China as a "dangerous enemy" of Viet Nam and the two other Indochinese states and labelled China as "the new and the most dangerous enemy of the Vietnamese revolution." The report delivered by Vo Nguyen Giap on behalf of the government and the resolution passed by the National Assembly were replete with slanders against China. They stressed the possibility of another war, even a full-scale war, with China, and called on the Viet-

namese "to be prepared and determined to fight."

Two. Vo Nguyen Giap described the barbarous Vietnamese war of aggression against Kampuchea and the occupation of large tracts of its territory as "a victory in the patriotic war on our country's southwestern border." He claimed that Viet Nam's aggression against Kampuchea, its total control of Laos and its setting up of an "Indochina federation" were within its "legitimate right," which "no one is entitled to interfere with."

Three. In the resolution, Soviet social-imperialism was lauded as "the strong bulwark of world peace and revolution." And Vo Nguyen Giap even claimed that the "victories in the two patriotic wars" [war of aggression against Kampuchea and military provocation against China] were "victories for the Soviet Union."

These outcries show, first of all, that although the Vietnamese authorities are beset

with difficulties at home and abroad as a result of their policy of hostility to China and pursuit of regional hegemonism, they are still bent on continuing to be a Soviet stooge to the end.

The Vietnamese authorities may talk glibly about "peaceful coexistence" with neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia and "non-aggression" against them, but they are dead set against the demand that they give up their military occupation of Laos and Kampuchea, and, first of all, withdraw their aggressor troops from Kampuchea. Likewise, there is little hope that they will show sincerity in achieving a settlement of the Sino-Vietnamese issues through peaceful negotiations. No wonder that Hanoi leaders should submit to the National Assembly a vile document to antagonize China and press for regional hegemonism, while dishing up through the hands of others a proposal for a "treaty of non-aggression" with the ASEAN countries and faking interest in negotiations with China.

From Vo Nguyen Giap's anti-China report one also sees that Viet Nam's perverse actions are not popular anywhere. The people of Viet Nam and the rest of the world are asking why the Vietnamese leaders are now taking China, a fraternal neighbouring country which once co-operated closely with them, as the main enemy.

The Vietnamese leaders, racking their brains for an answer, came up with the argument that China has never been a friend of Viet Nam, but has always been an enemy. In his report, Vo Nguyen Giap showered abuses on China from the Qin Dynasty up to the present time, and on China's present-day leaders who, so he asserted, "include Viet Nam among the key targets of their counter-revolutionary strategy." According to him, China has been helping Viet Nam for 30 years for the sole purpose of "controlling Viet Nam." China's support for Viet Nam's resistance against France and the United States was a ploy and China has all along collaborated with France and the United States against Viet Nam! According to this line of thinking, the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry, when recently making public its own proposal submitted during the 1978 Sino-Vietnamese negotiations on border disputes, changed the original clause "our two countries are socialist fraternal neighbours" into "our two countries are neighbours" — a mere geographical fact.

The Vietnamese leaders may falsify historical documents and records, but past objective realities cannot be altered. We have always held that the main trend in Sino-Vietnamese relations over the past thousands of years, the past dozens of years in particular, has been one of friendly intercourse. Feudal Chinese dynasties did invade and rule Viet Nam and feudal Vietnamese dynasties did commit aggression against China. But this was of only secondary importance. We never look upon Viet Nam as our "traditional enemy." The present strained relations between the two countries are only a temporary though deplorable lapse in the long history of amity. The change has its roots in Hanoi's pursuit of regional hegemonism.

As to the relations between China and Laos and between China and Kampuchea, they have always been friendly. The Vietnamese leaders resorted to the mean and despicable trick of falsifying history to meet the needs of their present anti-China campaign. This proves that they are really at their wit's end in trying to justify their treachery and perfidy.

While striving to fool the Vietnamese people and poison their minds, the Hanoi leaders have also decided to intensify their oppression. This is another signal that has issued from the National Assembly session. Talking about the "new tasks in the new situation," Vo Nguyen Giap told the session that "the important problem at present is that we should make our fellow countrymen see clearly their labour and military obligations. There must be stern sanctions on those who evade responsibility and are lazy." Declaring "we must be highly disciplined," he said that the government had decided to promulgate specific rules of personal responsibility and discipline, which "every cadre, worker and staff must observe scrupulously." They must also combat what is called "negative phenomena."

It is clear that popular discontent and defiance are making themselves felt in the country. The Vietnamese authorities are so deeply disturbed that they have decided to step up their efforts to crack down on the people. But whatever "stern sanctions" they may mete out and however hard they may combat what they think are "negative phenomena," they only show up the tenuity of the Hanoi regime. To drive half-starved people to die for regional hegemonism, it has to tighten fascist rule whatever the risks.

(A commentary by Xinhua Correspondent)

China Releases Third Group of Captured Vietnamese

ON June 5, China released the third group of captured Vietnamese armed personnel at the zero kilometre mark on the road from Youyiguan in China's Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region to the Vietnamese town of Dong Dang. The 487 Vietnamese were captured by Chinese frontier troops in the self-defensive counterattack at Cao Bang and Lang Son. When they were captured, some hiding in caves had had nothing to eat or drink for days; others were wounded and had been abandoned on the battlefield. The Chinese frontier troops, in the spirit of revolutionary humanitarianism and in keeping with the consistent policy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army on lenient treatment to captives, did not beat, abuse or humiliate the captured Vietnamese, but took good care of them. The sick and wounded were given proper medical treatment.

At the detention camps, each captive was given new clothing and bedding as well as articles for daily use. The captives were allowed to take part in managing their canteens and on festivals or holidays, special food was prepared according to their wishes. The daily



Captured Vietnamese soldier ready to be released.



Vietnamese women captives bidding farewell to Chinese personnel.

routine at the camps included a rich and varied programme of cultural and sports activities. As they received lenient treatment and were looked after well, the captives generally enjoyed good health and put on weight.

Their release was preceded by farewell meetings, dinners and film shows. Every captive was presented with souvenirs, including a "Hero"-brand fountain pen and an electric flashlight, and was given a bag of foodstuffs.

The captured Vietnamese were extremely grateful to China for their lenient treatment and care.

China had released the second group of 118 captured Vietnamese armed personnel at the same spot on May 28. The majority of this group of sick and wounded Vietnamese had been captured by Chinese frontier troops of

Yunnan Province. The Chinese Government had originally wanted to release them at a point near China's Hekou in Yunnan Province, so that they could be reunited with their families as soon as possible. However, after considering the concrete problems raised by the Vietnamese side, the Chinese Government sent a well-equipped special train to take them to the border in Guangxi.

Vietnamese Authorities Maltreat Captured Chinese

CAPTURED Chinese personnel were killed or maltreated by the Vietnamese authorities, said the 43 members of the first group of captured, sick and wounded Chinese released by Viet Nam.

Zhao Chengyong, a soldier, said that after he was captured, he saw Vietnamese troops shooting to death six seriously wounded Chinese captives. He heard Vietnamese sentries say to Chinese captives: "We have orders that if no more than five Chinese are captured, they are simply to be shot on the spot. There's no need to send them to detention camps."

Since Chinese captives were deprived of necessary and timely medical treatment, many suffered greatly and their condition deteriorated. Some were tortured to death. Soldier Guo Qingfu, who had an abdominal wound, was neglected for three weeks after an operation without anaesthesia. As a result, the wound festered and he perished in prison. Some captives were not stitched up after their operations. Some received no attention at all even when their wounds festered and had maggots.

The released captives reported that most of them had been kept handcuffed in Vietnamese detention camps. In some cases they were shut up in dungeons and not allowed out of the cells to urinate or defecate. They all had to wear red-and-white or grey-and-white striped con-

vict clothes. Forty-two of the 43 had been cruelly beaten; some were beaten up on seven occasions. The prison officers had struck them on their heads, chests and abdomens with iron bars and rifle butts and even stabbed at their wounds with bayonets.

Soldier Yang Shuan was beaten on the chest on four occasions. He is still in pain and has difficulty breathing. Soldier Li Bin lost consciousness six times and has gone deaf in one ear on account of the beatings. When platoon leader Su Shuibao was being interrogated, two Vietnamese personnel beat and injured him in the abdominal and genital areas.

The Vietnamese also searched the captives and took away their personal belongings. When Nong Hengjie, a civilian worker from Tianyang County, Guangxi, was captured, 18 yuan in Chinese currency and other things in his possession were all snatched away. Soldier Zhou Zhongju's "Shanghai"-brand wristwatch was taken.

The captured Chinese said that they had not had enough to eat in the detention camps. They were given only two meals of corn and mildewed flour a day. They ate pumpkin vines and turnip leaves at every meal and gradually became weaker and weaker. Preliminary checkups by Chinese doctors show 17 of the returnees to be suffering from malnutrition.

THAILAND

No Non-Aggression Treaty With Viet Nam

On June 2 Thai Prime Minister Kriangsak Chomanan informed the Vietnamese Deputy Foreign Minister, Nguyen Co Thach, that since Thailand did not share a border with Viet Nam, it would be highly irregular for the two countries to conclude a treaty of non-aggression.

At the end of last month, Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong had told P.N. Kaul, the former Indian Minister of External Affairs, that Viet Nam was willing to sign a non-aggression treaty with ASEAN as a whole or with each ASEAN member state. This offer was also broached by Nguyen Co Thach when he passed through Thailand en route to Colombo, Sri Lanka, to attend the Non-Aligned Co-ordinating Bureau Ministerial Meeting.

Everybody knows that while visiting the various ASEAN countries last September the Vietnamese Premier profusely promised to respect the inde-

pendence and sovereignty of other countries and not interfere in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries. But he had barely finished giving his assurances when more than 100,000 Vietnamese troops invaded Kampuchea. As a result of the burning, killing, looting and robbing which occurred during Viet Nam's occupation of large areas of the country, Kampuchean refugees streamed into Thailand in the thousands, placing a heavy burden on it. Now, ten divisions of Vietnamese troops are stationed along the Thai-Kampuchean border. They often fire on the Thai soldiers and people, seriously endangering lives and property as well as the security of the Thai border areas. They pose a clear military threat to Thailand. Vietnamese officials have even gone so far as to say that it would only take five hours to reach Aranya Prathet, an important Thai town. Viet Nam's adventurism has aroused the uneasiness and strong opposition of the ASEAN member countries. Now, in order to lull the people of the Southeast Asian countries, the Vietnamese authorities are try-

ing to create a peaceful atmosphere by glibly talking about signing a non-aggression treaty.

Thai Prime Minister Kriangsak explicitly stated that Thailand had no faith in Pham Van Dong and others and was not lacking in support or afraid of foreign threats and aggression. One Thai newspaper wrote: "The Vietnamese occupation of Laos and Kampuchea and its advance to the borders of Thailand have caused trouble in places where no problems previously existed. Signing a non-aggression treaty is not the way to solve the problem. Rather Viet Nam has to pull out its aggressor troops and restore the independence and sovereignty of Laos and Kampuchea."

ANDEAN PACT ORGANIZATION

Tenth Anniversary

May 26 was the 10th anniversary of the founding of the Andean Pact Organization. The leaders of the five Andean nations involved — Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela — signed an agreement on May 28 in Colombia's Cartagena to wind up the three-day summit. The document, the "Mandate of Cartagena," expresses their "resolve to take necessary action to consolidate (the organization) and strengthen the desire for unity and co-operation among all our countries."

The leaders agreed to "promote contacts with other systems of integrated and regional co-operation, increase the activities of the organization in the Latin American economic system and effectively strive to



Stepping-stones.
by Mei Luo

demonstrate their regional stand at international conferences and in international organizations."

Among its economic measures, the Andean Pact Organization will promote co-ordination in foreign trade and a policy of exporting the greatest possible quantity of finished products to industrialized countries, in a bid to by-pass discriminatory treatment in international raw material markets.

The Andean Pact Organization was founded in 1969 in Cartagena. In the ten years since its founding, the organization, in spite of difficulties and setbacks, has made marked progress towards economic co-ordination and development in the region. From 1969 to 1977, the total volume of exports of the five member states increased from 4,260 million U.S. dollars to 15,760 million. While strengthening their own inter-connections, the members have actively developed political and economic contacts with other Latin American countries and the rest of the third world. The organization has also increased its commercial relations with Japan and Canada as well as with members of the European Community, thus decreasing its reliance on the United States.

The difficulties and problems the Andean Pact Organization has met in the course of striving for integration are: a weak economic foundation, shortage of capital, uneven economic development, differing views on how to use and restrict foreign capital, and contradictions arising from their respective interests during implementation of the plan of development. Therefore, it is necessary to make repeated readjustments.

It has also been faced with interference and sabotage from international monopolies. Nevertheless, all these difficulties and problems cannot deflect the determination of the Andean states to promote integration and strive for economic independence and prosperity. At the summit meeting, the leaders of the member states summed up experiences, drew lessons from their shortcomings and came up with a plan for surpassing the achievements gained in the past ten years in the coming three years.

U.N. RESOLUTION

Support for Namibia's National-Liberation Struggle

The resumed 33rd session of the United Nations General Assembly on the Namibian question was held in the last nine days of May. A resolution was approved by 118 votes for and 16 abstentions on the closing day. The resolution reiterates the United Nations' support for the national-liberation movement of Namibia in its struggle by all means, including armed struggle, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, embracing Walvis Bay.

The resolution calls on all U.N. member states and the international community to refrain from according any recognition to, or co-operating with, the "national assembly" the South African authorities rigged up, or any illegal regime which South Africa may impose upon the Namibian people in disregard of U.N. resolutions.

Because of the South African authorities' apartheid policy at home and cruel suppression of the Namibian (South West African) people's struggle for national independence, the 29th U.N. General Assembly of 1974 approved by an overwhelming majority a resolution which denied the qualifications of the South African authorities' representatives to U.N. conferences. As soon as the resumed 33rd session of the United Nations General Assembly was held, the representative of the South African authorities elbowed his way into the U.N. conference hall. African and other third world countries' representatives were forced to move and have another resolution passed to drive the South African gate-crasher out of the meeting.

During the session, representatives of the African and other third world countries and a number of second world countries strongly condemned in their speeches the racist regime of South Africa for its illegal setting up of a "national assembly" in an attempt to perpetuate its colonial rule and racist persecution in Namibia.

Chinese Representative Lai Yali said on May 29: "At present, southern Africa is gaining increasing importance in the intense rivalry between the superpowers. Outside hegemonist forces have long cast a covetous eye on Namibia and the rest of southern Africa which are rich in resources and strategically important." Therefore, "the Namibian and southern African people who are fighting for national independence and liberation have the grave task of guarding against and preventing hegemonist meddling and sabotage."

● **Red Army Veterans Well Cared For**

An important revolutionary base area was located in the western part of Fujian Province in the 1930s. Led by the local Chinese Soviet, the 2 million people in this area made great contributions to the revolutionary cause. And many lost their families in the revolutionary wars.

After liberation, people always remembered their meritorious deeds. Eight honour homes were established there to take care of the homeless Red Army and guerrilla veterans and dependants of revolutionary martyrs. The government provides them with grain, clothes and articles of daily use, along with some pocket money and free medical care. Those living with their families or relatives receive allowances from the government.

For instance, the honour home in Shanghang County houses 19 old people, each having their own well-furnished bedroom. Many trees and flowers are grown in the garden. The home is visited periodically by county leaders. Special performances are put on during holidays. Recently the home was given a colour television set by the county.

Many of the old people are still very active, keeping fish and growing vegetables. They often give lectures at schools, factories and people's communes, telling about their own sufferings in the old society and the struggles they waged against the reactionary ruling classes. They encourage the young people to learn from the

fallen revolutionaries and work or study hard for the country's socialist modernization.

Among the old people is 84-year-old Qiu Xinxu, wife of the martyred vice-chairman of one of the early Chinese Soviets, whose only son was also killed by the enemy. She often tells the young people: "The longer I live, the more energetic I feel."

● **A Large Coalfield Verified**

Geologists have verified a new coalfield in northeast China's Heilongjiang Province. Its coal reserves are estimated at 12,000 million tons of which 5,000 million tons are estimated to be recoverable.

The type of coal is lignite which can be used as fuel for generating electricity.

Located on the Hulun Buir Grasslands along the Yimin River, the coalfield is suitable for large-scale mechanized opencast mining because the coal seam is thick and not deeply buried.

Preparations are under way to begin mining.

● **Highway Bridge**

A 543-metre-long highway bridge, the longest in Guizhou Province, southwest China, was completed and commissioned on May 1.

The bridge over the Duliu River is in Rongjiang County near the Hunan-Guangxi border and has approaches totalling 773 metres.

Rongjiang County near the Duliu River is the only link

between Kaili, capital of the Qiongnan Miao and Dong Autonomous Prefecture, and several nearby hill counties where timber is produced as well as native products. Before the bridge was built, all goods transported out by lorries had to be ferried across the river. As the ferry did not operate in high water seasons, sometimes as many as 100 trucks had to wait as long as four or five days.

● **Oases on the Banks Of the Tarim**

Man-made oases now dot the desert on both banks of a section of the Tarim River in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region in northwest China.

The 2,179-kilometre Tarim, China's longest inland river, drains 198,000 square kilometres and finally dries up as it flows deeper and deeper into China's biggest desert, the Taklimakan.

The units of the People's Liberation Army and school-leavers from Shanghai and Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces arrived in 1958 to transform the land about the river. The oases today total more than 46,600 hectares and have three reservoirs with a total storage capacity of 380 million cubic metres.

A 223-metre-long dam standing five metres high was thrown across the river to facilitate the building of these three reservoirs and seven small hydropower stations.

In each oasis are several state farms growing rice, oil-bearing crops and fruit, including the famous Hami melons.

● **Shanghai's Places Of Historical Interest**

Shanghai is not merely a crowded metropolis of people, vehicles, factories, shops and tall buildings. It also has many scenic spots and places of historical interest.

The 400-year-old Yuyuan Garden recently re-opened to the public after renovation and expansion is one. The pavilions and towers in this 20,000-square-metre garden evoke the architectural mood of the buildings in areas south of the Zhangjiang River during the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1911) Dynasties.

A square pagoda (nine stories) and the Longhua Pagoda (seven stories) on the outskirts of the city, both 1,000 years old, have been rebuilt recently and are now open to visitors.

The Dianshan Lake is known for its clear water and attractive scenery. The lake and the 6,300 hectares around it have been declared a tourist attraction. Gardens are being laid out and trees, flowers, grass and bamboo are being planted. In this area stone bridges dating from the Ming Dynasty and gardens and pagodas from the Qing Dynasty are being repaired.

Today, a triple-deck tourist ship, the *Pujiang* of 1,400 tons, plies daily between the city proper and Wusongkou, where the Huangpu and the Zhangjiang Rivers meet. The scenery along the banks is lovely.

● **New Bus Stop Signs**

Beijing is changing all its bus and trolley-bus stop signs, as its citizens have suggested.

New stop signs are now in a clean cream colour with route

numbers big and clear. Inner-city bus signs have a broad horizontal red band and outer-city signs have a dark-blue band to distinguish them. For trolleys it is a light blue. Red arrowheads on the new signs indicate the stops ahead; a great help to the many visitors to the capital.

Apart from bicycles, buses and trolley-buses are the main means of transit in Beijing. The public transport departments are busily improving the bus service.

● **Mineral Springs Sanatorium**

The famous Alshan mineral springs sanatorium, built 30 years ago, has been refurbished and is now receiving convalescents from all parts of the country. It was forced to close during the years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran rampant.

The sanatorium is on the western slope of the Greater Hinggan Mountains at Horqin Right Wing Front Banner, Jilin Province. Its water is considered useful in the treatment of certain diseases. The 48 mineral springs in the area have temperatures ranging from 2 to 48 degrees centigrade. In the past, more than 1,000 people came for treatment and recuperation each year.

The state this year allocated funds to recondition the facilities at the springs, repair the houses and purchase new medical equipment. Mud baths, acupuncture, wax and massage therapies are available.

A 400-bed hotel near the sanatorium has been turned into a reception centre where peasants and herdsmen from the nearby pastoral areas get treatment from sanatorium medical workers.



● **Souvenir Gold Coins**

The People's Bank of China has been authorized by the State Council to cast and issue a set of four souvenir gold coins to mark the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China (October 1, 1979).

The commemorative gold coins to be sold abroad have on one side the national emblem of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese characters of "30th Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China" and the date "1949-1979." On the reverse side there are four designs — Tian An Men, the Monument to the Heroes of the People, the Great Hall of the People, and the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall.

China has a long history in minting and issuing coins but this is the first time New China is issuing gold coins.



NEW CHINA BUILDS

(Chinese and English editions)



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